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31However, almost all areas of Brazil have perennial labor shortages.

B [133] [162]

32In 1950, the urban centers in Brazil with more than 250,000 population were:

Rio de Janeiro	2,303,063
São Paulo	2,017,025
Recife	512,370
Salvador	389,422
Porto Alegre	375,049
Belo Horizonte	338,585

33Others are Campina Grande in Paraíba, Sorocaba in São Paulo, and Tres Corações and Campo Belo in Minas Gerais.

BB [133] [491]

34Cachoeira and São Félix are twin urban developments opposite each other on the Rio Paraguaçu. The river here is narrow, and the two centers are linked effectively by a combined railroad-highway bridge. In 1950 the population of Cachoeira was 10,825; the population of São Félix, 5,872. The two cidades are, in the main, a single functional unit.

BB [505] [493]

35Santo Amaro proper can be reached by sailing craft or canoes only, but small steamers of the type used in the Bay regularly ascend the Rio Sergi to the outskirts--the connection into the city proper is by a streetcar drawn by two recalcitrant mules.

36There is little direct evidence for this conclusion, but it is a reasonable inference from the present flow of goods and the observable decline in wealth and prestige in these cities. Nowadays the steamers which serve these ports carry passengers almost exclusively, and the number of sailing craft (saveiros) loading is generally small. It should be noted that trucks play a much more important role in the movement of goods than the railroads, except in the sugar zone, and that busses rival railroads as passenger carriers. The main highway system of Bahia has by-passed both Santo Amaro and Cachoeira.

BB [491]

37An all-weather road is now being constructed from Conceição do Almeida to Maragogipe. This will enable passengers and goods moving toward Salvador via the Bay to by-pass Cachoeira-São Félix. This may well further reduce the importance of the latter and increase the growing prosperity of Maragogipe.

BB [491]

38Muritiba is only 5 kilometers from São Félix, but the two cities are quite distinct. São Félix-Cachoeira occupies the lower slopes of the narrow valley of the Rio Paraguaçu. A belt, composed of the upper slopes and the edge of the Uplands, which is all either cultivated or in second growth, makes a distinct but narrow, 3 kilometers wide, break between Muritiba and São Félix.

39Nazaré is the main shop and Santo Antônio an important station of the Estrada de Ferro Nazaré. The terminus of the "Nazaré" is São Roque do Paraguaçu--down river from Maragogipe. Castro Alves is on the Brumado, Caculé, and Rio de Janeiro branch of the "Léste," and Serrinha is on the Alagoinhas, Bonfim, Juàzeiro branch of the same line.

40Estimated from 1940 occupational data.

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245 The bananas of the Recôncavo include a number of types--large, medium and small eating varieties, and plantains--which are grown in most sections and which may be encountered in village and urban markets in all seasons. Cultivation is a haphazard enterprise in which the reproduction of bananas frequently is accidental rather than deliberate. Since there is so much semi-spontaneous cultivation concealed in gardens and second growth and thus probably not enumerated and since the spacing of the plants is so variable, area data for bananas in the [311] Recôncavo have little meaning. The official data for 1948 indicated that [433] there were 1,069 hectares planted in the region, producing an estimated 1,859 bunches.[25]

245 Banana plants are seen in all settlements of the Recôncavo, and 311 except in the drier caatinga zone of the Northwestern Recôncavo, scattered over the countryside (Map 51). The chief area of production is in the Southwest, where they are grown almost exclusively for the local market (Map 52). However, there is a concentration of banana production [505] [438] around the fringes of Salvador[26] and along the margins of the Bay and the estuary of the Paraguaçu, where sailing craft (saveiros) can conveniently pick up shipments for the large urban market.

245 In 1948 bananas had their greatest relative importance, as deter- 311 mined by the per cent of the total cropland which they occupied, 433 around and in the city of Salvador, on the island of Itaparica, and around the city of Alagoinhas. The mean yield of bananas in the Recôncavo was 1,730 bunches per hectare, or an estimated 13,840 kilograms per hectare (Map 53)--lower than the 28,900 kilograms per hectare of Brazil, but much higher than the 9,900 kilograms for French West Africa and the 4,400 kilograms for the Philippines.[27]

245 It should be emphasized that the banana in Bahia is a relatively 262 cheap and common subsistence food, eaten raw or cooked. This is not to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 206]

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443 452 427 Many shopkeepers are also land owners, and their tenants as a matter of course are also their customers and their debtors. The livestock raised by the agriculturalist may be sold on the hoof at the feira or taken to the matadouro municipal (municipal slaughter house). The meat is sold either at the slaughter house or at the feira.

In the larger centers the market tends to last throughout the week. In the medium-sized centers there are a few offerings each morning, and often there is a small feira in the middle of the week. Some major cities, such as Cachoeira, Feira de Santana, Santo Amaro, and Salvador, have source areas larger than their municípios. For 489 494 example, the market at Feira de Santana invariably draws scores of trucks, each laden with people and produce, from places as distant as Cruz das Almas, Ipirá, Serrinha, and Santo Amaro. The most important general market in the Recôncavo is the Saturday feira at Agua de Meninos 505 in Salvador. This market is located on the low-lying tidal flats beside the Bay, and many of the agricultural products which are sold 489 494 here are brought by sailing boats. Trucks, carts, streetcars, trains, and pack animals are also used to transport produce to this market. It is here that a very large portion of Salvador's population purchases the agricultural products of the Recôncavo. This market is also the source of supply of the street vendors who hawk fruits and vegetables through the streets of the city. Salvador also has a smaller central market—the Mercado Modelo—and a number of minor neighborhood markets which usually are open for part of each day.

442 443 233 The campo de gado (cattle fair) at Feira de Santana is the only important specialized public market in the Recôncavo, and, as has been seen, it plays a very critical role in the agricultural economy of the region and of the state. On Monday mornings thousands of cattle change hands in the pens and weighing compounds at this fair.[1] Because the

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their journeys thus, and many agricultural products are transported in no other fashion from the site of cultivation to the ultimate consumer. In each of the municípios of the Recôncavo, as in almost all of Brazil, there are extensive areas which are neither on nor near roads. In these areas, but also along the highways and in the cities, men and beasts of burden transport the products of the agricultural economy. Long distance transportation, formerly dependent on animals, has been changed in the last half century by the introduction of railroads and more recently, automotive vehicles. In a similar fashion, both primitive and relatively modern transport are used on the waters of the Bâia de Todos os Santos and of the various estuaries. Most of the agricultural products which cross the Bay are carried on open-decked sailing vessels and canoes, but there are also a number of motor vessels and motorboats which provide relatively effective transport from Salvador to all the cidades on or near tidewater.

In the tobacco-manioc region, and in rural Brazil generally, the donkey or the mule is the characteristic beast of burden. On the backs of these animals the bales of tobacco, the sacks of manioc and farinha de mandioca, and the baskets of corn and vegetables are carried to the market. The equipage of the donkey is simple--a halter and a rough crosstree pack saddle with a thick pad of vegetable fiber. In the sugar cane region the donkey is supplemented and, in most areas, almost supplanted by the ox cart. The ox cart of Bahia, essentially like the carts used in other Brazilian sugar areas, is built of heavy wood, with a thick wooden bed and tongue, wooden axle, and solid wooden wheels about five-feet in diameter. This high, massive contraption has no bearings, and in dry weather especially it is frequently necessary to repair the wheels and axles. The ox cart is an admirable device for the Cretaceous lowland, for with its high wheels it can carry as much

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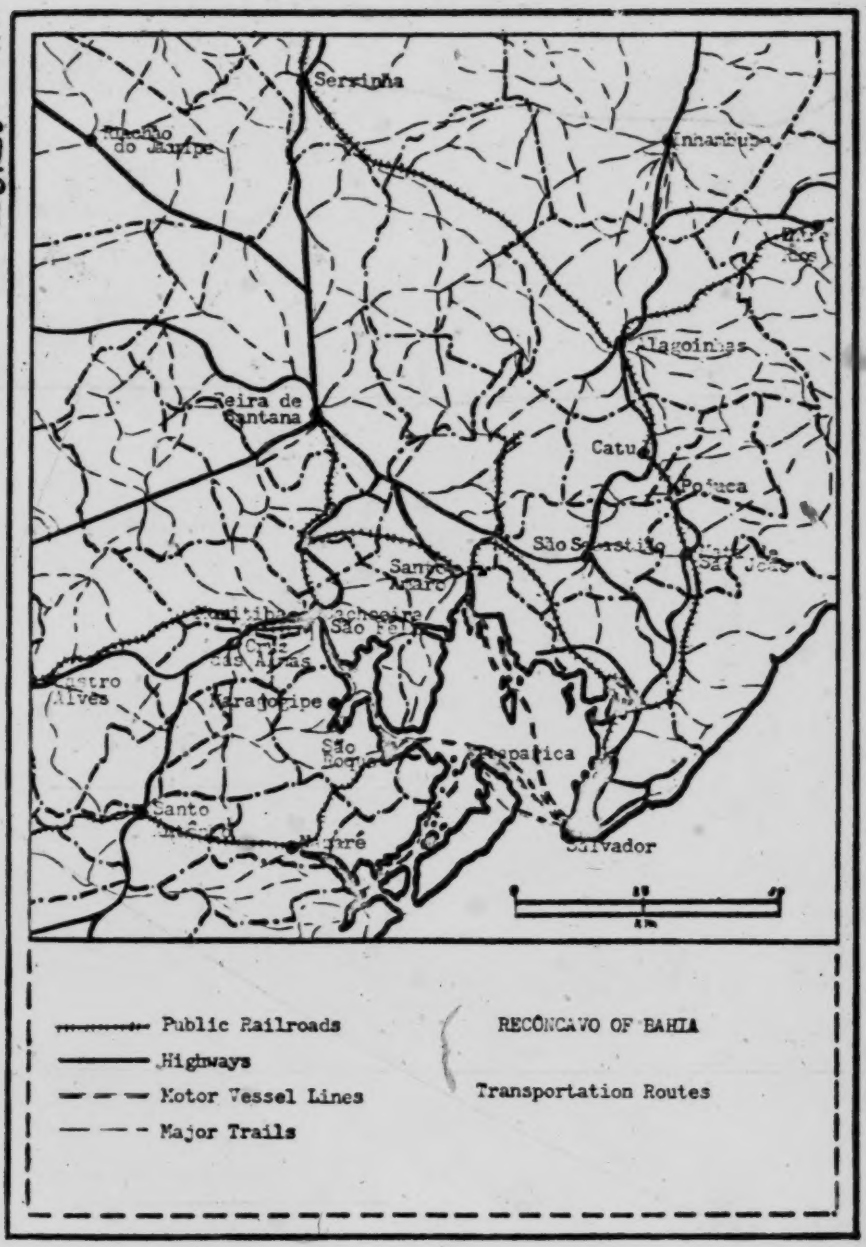

MAP 129

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497 usually carried by rail or by automotive transport. The operation of
494 the economy of the Recôncavo seems to require a constant movement of merchants, fazendeiros (landowners) and agents between the various cidades, and between the lesser urban centers and Salvador or Feira de Santana.

496 The two railroad systems which serve the Recôncavo and the adjoin-
497 ing areas are both narrow-gauge lines. The most extensive system belongs to the Viação Férrea Federal Leste Brasileiro, called the "Leste." It is part of a larger network which, in theory, connects Rio de Janeiro and the rest of the Central-South with the Northeast as far as Maceió in the state of Alagoas. Within the Recôncavo the main lines of the Leste stretch out from Salvador northward through Alagoinhas and westward through Cachoeira. A branch line of the latter runs to Feira de Santana.

The Estrada de Ferro Nazaré railroad crosses only the corner of the Recôncavo, but it runs for a long distance near the southwestern perimeter. The line begins at Jequié in the coffee zone and terminates at the cidade of Nazaré and at São Roque on the estuary of the Rio
[505] Paraguaçu below Maragogipe. These two terminals are connected to Salvador by motor vessels which attempt to coordinate their schedules with the trains. A rail link between the Nazaré line at Santo Antônio and the Leste at Cruz das Almas has been under construction for some years.

493 Most of the rolling stock of the Leste is archaic, but the
497 Nazaré line has relatively good equipment. The woodburning locomotives used by both railroads are small but are kept in good repair and operate with reasonable efficiency. They are cheap and flexible to operate and, in view of the limited fuel resource of Brazil, seem almost ideal. The Leste has a diesel engine for the passenger train which operates between

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494 lesser extent, of goods-carrying busses. Another delay in movement of
493 goods results from frequent breakdowns. A large number of broken down trucks are to be seen along the side of any of the highways of the Recôncavo. The most direct cause of these breakdowns is the universal practice of heavily overloading trucks--extra springs and blocks have been added so that they can carry enormous loads, but frequently the axles and tires fail on the rough roads. A contributing factor in the breakdowns is probably the scarcity and high cost of new parts.

Many merchants, buyers, and prosperous farmers make use of an additional passenger service which is provided between the urban centers of the region by automobiles in what might be described as a combination limousine and zone taxicab service. These taxicabs wait in a conspicuous spot, usually near the square of the city, with their destination and the total fare for the trip painted on the windshield. A perspective rider may pay the entire fare himself, wait for others who will share the expense, or himself secure other passengers. The fares are standardized, and the system is particularly oriented toward the important markets of the region.

• 505 The centrally located Baía de Todos os Santos and its estuaries are very important in the transport of both goods and people within the Recôncavo. A most conspicuous and universal sight is the myriad of sailing vessels which transport large quantities of agricultural products across the Bay to Salvador. There is no way of estimating the importance of this traffic in relation to the total amount of goods carried, but the vessels (saveiros) can hold as much as four or five
[501] tons of cargo. These boats are heavy timbered, open decked sailing vessels with a single mast—they do not sail well except before the wind, and therefore their trips are timed according to the direction of the wind. The saveiros seem to be very hardy and able to survive

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505 [226] abuse by the sea and by man. While some of these boats are used for fishing in the Bay and in the ocean, their most important function undoubtedly is bringing food from the areas around the Bay to the city of Salvador. On the return trip, they carry building materials, manufactured articles, and passengers. The usinas of the coastal [249] [257] sections of the sugar cane area use these vessels to transport cane to the mill and to deliver the products of the mill to Salvador. Several of the cities on the Bay are very much dependent upon this means of transport, especially São Francisco and Maragogipe, which for all practical purposes have no road connections.

Motor boats serve to connect Salvador and the island of Itaparica. All of the tidewater cidades of the Bay and, in addition, São Roque do Paraguaçu and Nazaré are connected with the city of Salvador by scheduled motor vessels which carry many passengers and small quantities of freight. These vessels ascend and descend the estuaries with the tide. The head of navigation on the Rio Paraguaçu is Cachoeira, and on the Rio Sergi is at a landing on the outskirts of Santo Amaro.

489 241 433 These various transport media provide for the movement of people and goods across the Recôncavo. They are generally able to meet the immediate demands of the agricultural economy without excessive delays. The available media of transport are used to the fullest extent; busses, trains, and motor vessels are always crowded, and the trucks are always busy. However, the poor roads, the archaic railroads, the taxes on the movement of goods, and the high cost of vehicles clearly set a limit to the expansion or the intensification of the agricultural system. The rationalization of agriculture in the Recôncavo would require considerable expansion and improvement of the system of transportation.

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249 Processing of Agricultural Products. Each of the three principal
252 crops of the Recôncavo require processing before it can be consumed.
276 Sugar cane and manioc are highly perishable, and both are processed in their entirety within the region. Tobacco, once it is fermented, can be stored for longer periods, so that there is no necessity for immediate processing within the Recôncavo. Sugar cane is processed in large usinas and to a lesser extent in engenhos (primitive sugar mills). Tobacco
[277] products are fabricated in small-scale home industries and in factories. Manioc is converted into farinha de mandioca in very small mills.

249 The cultivation, transportation, and processing of sugar cane
489 require an integrated system in which there is some form of centralized
471 administration. The larger usinas own and operate most of the surrounding cane plantations and the associated transportation system, and administration is direct. Where cane is purchased from furnishers--privately-owned plantations--the mill specifies the type of cane which it will buy and the schedule of delivery. Most of the sugar cane in the Recôncavo is processed by usinas, which produce sugar, rum, and alcohol. However, there are a number of engenhos and a few smaller usinas which specialize in the production of rum or crude sugar. The engenhos are most important around the margins of the main sugar cane area north of the Bay and in Cachoeira and São Félix, but the usinas dominate the core area of cane production in Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião. Within the core area the big usinas generally are located near but not on the main railroads, although a few are situated near the shore of the Bay.

249 The harvested sugar cane generally is delivered to smaller mills
492 by the grower, usually on ox carts. The larger mills receive their
249 cane via the railroad or the Bay. In these cases the cane is trans-
499 ported by ox cart from the cane fields to a weighing station, from
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249 which it is hauled by railroad or boat to the mill, although sometimes
497 the cane which is carried by boat is weighed at the mill. The rail-
• 505 roads which handle the cane, as has been indicated, are owned and
496 operated by the usinas, except that the government right-of-way is
471 used whenever these tracks pass close to the plantations. One of the
249 usinas is new and a few of the older mills have some new equipment, but the general level of technology is considerably below that of Pernambuco or São Paulo and the mills are somewhat smaller. The usinas grind the cane, extract the juices, and refine the sugar by means of vacuum pans and centrifuges. The more modern usinas produce a high quality sugar, but in general the product is coarse and not a pure white.
274 The by-products of the large usinas and part or all of the cane juice
385 of some of the usinas and engenhos is converted into rum or commercial
262 alcohol. The sugar, rum, and alcohol from the sugar industry of the
273 Recôncavo are consumed primarily within the Recôncavo and the adjoining
438 regions of Bahia. About one-tenth of the production of sugar is
439 exported, chiefly to Rio de Janeiro. The commercial alcohol usually
382 is mixed with gasoline in the bulk plants in Salvador to provide fuel
385 for automotive transport. By law a specified amount of commercial
654 alcohol must be mixed with gasoline--this is designed to subsidize the sugar industry.

249 There are twenty usinas in the Recôncavo, and these produced
471 an estimated 80 per cent of the total sugar of the state of Bahia in
433 1948. The three largest of these are owned by a single sugar company, which also owns the associated plantations, transportation equipment, and cattle fazendas. This company plays an important role in the
249 marketing of sugar from its own usinas and from other companies. The
471 concentration of the cultivation of sugar cane and of the production
178 of sugar in the hands of this single enterprise is a symptom of the

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of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than manioc.

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of cultivation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane monocultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of production--the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer [407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of [492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought [231] into the area from the sertão, and little livestock breeding is found [233] in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small [471] number of medium-sized usinas. The companies which own these usinas [178] are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the [499] cane is brought to the usinas by railroad, although sailing boats are [489] used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in [505] the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities [438] [439] are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class [565] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are [471] involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The [472] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane [464] plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force [178] of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes from the interior sertão of Bahia.

It must be remembered that these figures include the capital city, the population of which is about 450,000. If this is subtracted from the total population of the Recôncavo, the average density of the Recôncavo is approximately 27 persons per square kilometer.

Vila Recôncavo, the community of this study, is part of a county located 41 kilometers across the bay from Salvador. The community includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, which is the county seat, and the surrounding rural zone. Throughout the study we will be dealing with these two components of the sugar-cane plantation community, sometimes separately and sometimes together.

The only public transportation to the town is by boat from the capital, a three-hour trip across the bay, threading through numerous islands. The major part of the trip is made on remarkably blue water, usually serenely calm but occasionally violently agitated, especially during the winter. One-, two-, and three-masted sailing vessels and an occasional large sailing canoe, the centuries-old methods of transportation in Bahia, are passed on their way into the city, carrying fruit, vegetables, pottery, firewood, fish, tobacco, manioc flour, and sugar to the more than four hundred thousand people of the city, as they have done since the early colonization of the Recôncavo. The only new element in the scene is the small diesel boat which makes the trip back and forth across the bay, outward bound one day and returning the next with the outgoing tide.

As the boat nears the luxuriantly green, palm-crested islands, stopping at several to discharge the mail, passengers, and "city goods," one becomes aware of the feeling of stepping back into the past. Barefoot children are selling oranges, peanuts, and fish; and parrots and parakeets, sometimes doped with rum to make them appear tame. The mailman on the dock receives the sack of mail and gives it to his helper to carry to the post office; the island priest may receive a message or package entrusted to the captain of the boat or may even go aboard to travel to the church on another island. The others on the dock call to friends on the boat and exchange news or else simply watch the activity of docking the boat and the casting off. The people of the islands are light-skinned, although well sunburned. Many of them are vacationers from the city, dressed in brightly colored clothes, for the islands are well-known resorts. The others, barefoot, wearing shorts

The others, barefoot, wearing shorts and large-brimmed straw hats, are the permanent dwellers of the islands: fishermen, stevedores, and storekeepers.

When the islands are left behind, the scene begins to change. The color of the water changes from a clear, deep blue to a muddy gray. Groups of canoes are seen, their occupants busy with their fish nets, for this shallow part of the bay is a good fishing ground. Once again the mainland is close, rolling hills covered with a thousand shades of green--sugar cane, the crop which nearly four hundred years ago replaced the virgin forests. The deltalike shores of this part of the bay are covered with mangue, muddy areas with low-growing trees which at high tide are standing in the water. On a hill at the water's edge is the town of Vila Recôncavo, a town of 1,462 persons. The first thing one sees is the huge Franciscan convent[5] with its two tall towers and its royal palms. Approaching the long dock which juts out into the water, one can see almost the whole town, which is built on three hills and in the valleys between them.

The arrival of the boat from Salvador every other day is an event in an otherwise dull day. Nearly all the men of the town go down to the dock to meet the boat, to see who is traveling, to see what is arriving for someone in the town, to receive messages or parcels, to greet friends, and to gossip. The postmistress is there, and with her the man whose duty it is to carry the mail sack, but who has a helper to do it for him. After a few minutes the boat continues its journey, and the townsfolk walk back along the dock, breaking up into small groups on reaching the main square and then each going his own way.

On the square at the end of the dock, at the foot of the main street which leads up the middle hill and out into the

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5. It should be explained that "convent" in this case is a direct translation from Portuguese. In Portuguese, convent does not have the connotation of being a religious establishment only for women. The word convento is applied to the Franciscans' establishment because the Franciscans are not monks; if they were, their establishment would be called a mosteiro (monastery). In English, Franciscans are known as "friars," and their houses are called "friaries." However, throughout this monograph the direct translation, convent, is used.

VILA RECREIO

[The Usina]

the factory is undergoing a reformation which will raise its capacity to over one hundred thousand sacks, and the legal capacity will be readjusted.

Usina São Pedro, although the smallest, is representative of the others and experiences the same problems and difficulties. It differs from some in that it is a family enterprise. The stockholders are nearly all members of the Conde family, and the operations are directed by two members of the family. The factory itself was one of the three built by the state government in 1900 on land controlled by the Navy,[5] on the edge of the Bay, which provides excellent year-round transportation facilities. The mill was acquired in 1909 by the Conde family with two plantations, to which the family has since added four other contiguous plantations. The corporation has a total area of slightly over four thousand acres, mostly of rich massapê soil. The factory receives cane from the plantation of Dona Sinhá, who is also a member of the Conde family by birth and by marriage. It also gets cane from four other plantations within the community and four outside the community, which send their cane by the traditional sailboat. In addition, the factory owns a 2,324-acre plantation in the county of Purificação which is used for grazing and raising cattle and for supplying wood for the factory fires. There is direct water transportation between the factory and the plantation in Purificação.

The designation usina has several meanings which are quite similar to the meanings of the older term, engenho. In its larger context, usina means the entire land-factory combination, including the mill and all the plantations belonging to the corporation. More specifically, usina means the factory building itself. In another context, usina simply indicates the population nucleus, including the factory, the owner's house, and the other buildings.

The usina or factory nucleus roughly follows the same settlement pattern of the old plantations. The point of orientation is the factory building, near which stand the chalet and other homes of the owning family, which are grouped together in a park of royal palms and mango trees. Usually a small chapel or oratory is included in one wing of the chalet, where

5. The shoreline bordering salt water is controlled to the depth of 33 meters by the Brazilian Navy.